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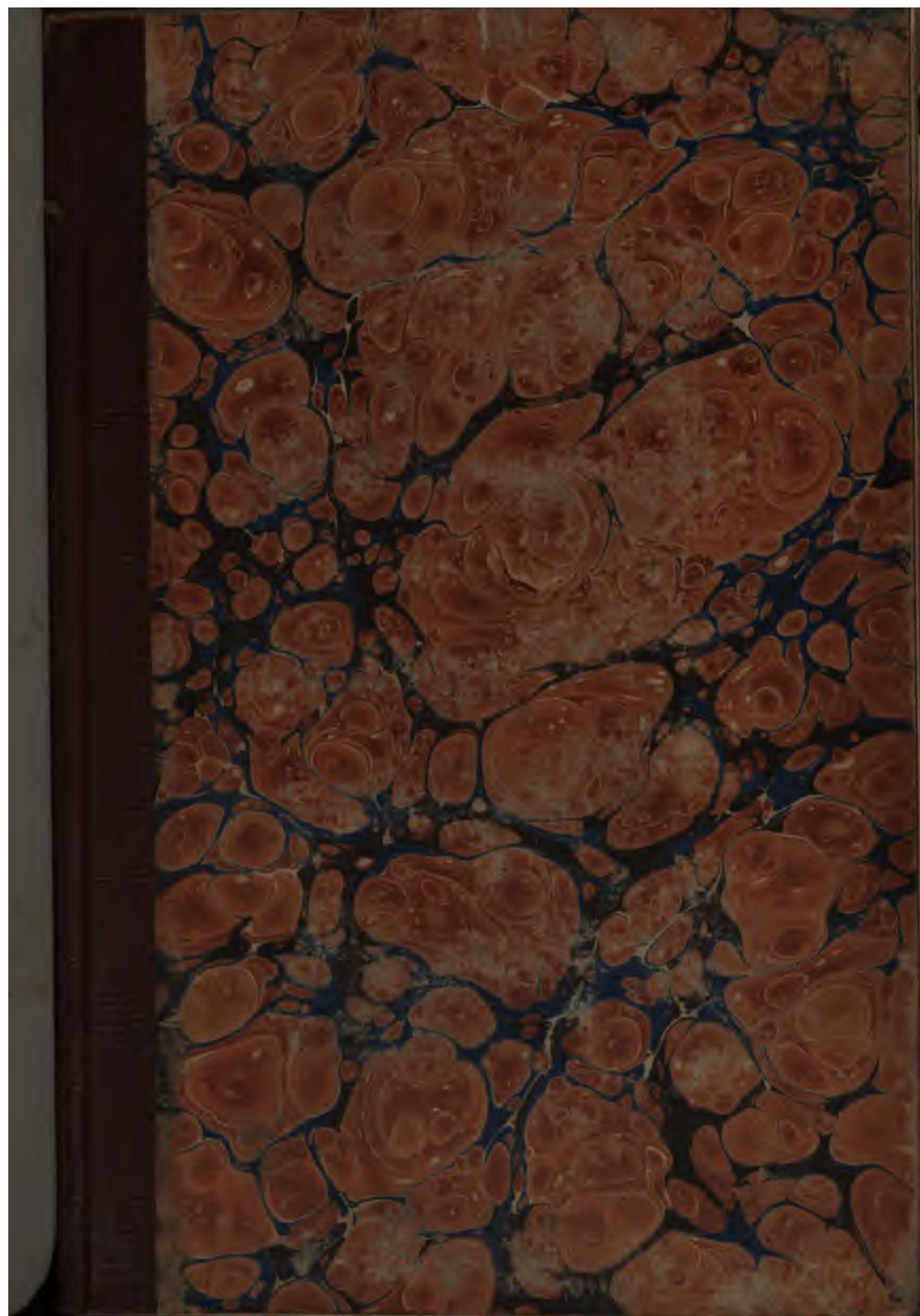
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HINTS

TO ALL PARTIES,

BY

A MAN OF NO PARTY.

Cas. ni. charo. y. wlad a' i mago.

Hateful is the man that loves not the land that reared him.

LONDON:

BACH AND CO. 21, SOHO SQUARE.

1834.

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34783.

HINTS



TO ALL PARTIES

5

A MAN OF NO PART

Can it be that I was a man
Hence in the name that I was to be called upon

THESE
BACH AND CH. J. WILSON

THE

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**ALFRED ROBINS, Printer, Tavistock Street,
Covent Garden.**

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intend soliciting their attention, and more especially *Absenteeism*, the peculiar danger of which, to the prosperity of the country, I shall endeavour to point out; and, as I held for many years a public situation on the Continent, I have had the advantage of ocular evidence, as a basis for my observations.

I have also endeavoured to contrast the present situation of England with that of the other Continental Powers, especially Russia, whose *resources, policy, natural advantages, ambitious plans, and increasing encroachments*, I have attempted to describe.

I will therefore conclude in the words of a popular German writer, "Whoever reads these pages without imbibing the spirit and patriotism of the Author, has read it without advantage to himself or country."

THE AUTHOR.

London, March, 1834.

HINTS TO ALL PARTIES.

THAT great and extraordinary man, whose mighty genius and expansive mind, embraced not only the mysteries of his profession, but like a guiding spirit was present every where that the aggrandizement and welfare of his beloved France demanded ; and, if he had not been prematurely hurried away from the great theatre of action, by the fatalities of war, would have astounded all Europe, by his sagacity as a lawgiver, and given to his people a constitution, based upon principles, tending to elevate the industrious classes to a degree of prosperity previously unattained, or even contemplated by the most eminent legislators.*

By his plan property would have been more secure, at the same time restraining the rich, from the possibility of oppressing their humbler neighbours and dependants. Perhaps he was the only being that ever existed capable of effecting a reformation so extensive with impunity, as that which his powerful mind had

* An abstract of this code of laws and constitution is in the possession of Lucien Buonaparte.

projected, possessed as he was of the undivided affections of his people, and a dominion perfectly absolute. But fate had ordained it otherwise, and the inhabitants of Europe are doomed to submit to their chains, until another meteor appears capable of executing what had been planned, but as yet not executed.

When on his return from the sovereignty of the Island of Elba, at the head of a *poignée* of veterans, drove from his throne the legitimate descendant of *St. Louis*! It was reported to him that he was unpopular with the *Bourgeois*, that his sole aim was military glory, and that every other consideration had been sacrificed to his ambition of universal dominion; that he had immolated that liberty and independence which had cost the nation so much blood and treasure, at the altar of his unbounded love of power. Through long and ruinous wars industry had become nearly annihilated, and the country depopulated. Worn by taxes, imposts, and new levies of men, the nation demanded peace and a constitution, which should secure to them the blessings of rational liberty, with a code of laws similar to those of England.

Napoleon was observed to sigh, and at the same time casting upon the representatives of the people one of his own peculiar penetrating glances, exclaimed in a voice expressive of good nature,

“ Noble, generous France, during my tranquil retirement in *Elba* thy interests have not been forgotten. I had there commenced framing a code of laws and a constitution based upon the most popular institutions, now existing, and improving those parts which experience has demonstrated to be defective in their operations for the best interests of society; and if it should be the will of Heaven to prosper the arms of France in the approaching desperate and fearfully unequal struggle, peace shall revisit our beloved country, and the rights of the poorest individual shall be secured to him by laws, which no power shall be able to invade with impunity.

“ But why select England as your model? Her laws are so abstruse as to be unintelligible to the majority even of her own citizens; and her boasted constitution has been made subservient to the interests of one class of the community, the Aristocracy, who, by reason of their immense wealth and privileges, tyrannize over King, Commons, and People!

“ Every lucrative appointment in the realm, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical, is filled by them or their minions, Parliamentary interest being the only passport to fame, wealth, and glory!

“ England has, it is true, two Houses of Par-

the title of king revived, that alone will be the cause of much future discontent, for the nation will regard it as a degradation.

“ It is a question, whether the great republican *Lafayette*, at the summit of his popularity, could govern France one twelvemonth as president of a *Republic*, provided she was at the same time in profound peace with all Europe.

“ But even were it possible for such an event to take place, it would be necessary to insure its duration, that an alliance of the strictest amity should be formed with England. Vulnerable as France is on all sides to the inroads of despotic rulers, who are jealous of their power and hostile to the dissemination of democratic principles; it would be the means of producing a long and sanguinary contest between absolute and liberal governments, doubtful in its issue, and disastrous in its immediate effects.

“ In this respect, England, from her insular situation, with a population phlegmatic in their temperament, would not be so likely to excite suspicion in the breasts of the neighbouring potentates of her revolutionizing their subjects, by the promulgation of liberal principles.

“ Anxious to cultivate her alliance, I offered her peace, its principle being to secure wealth and prosperity to both nations; I tendered her the olive branch, but I received in return the

gauntlet of defiance ; future historians will decide upon the wisdom of this mode of acting.

“The destructive war, that they now wage against me, and in which they have enlisted all the powers of Europe, is unparalleled in the history of nations for profligate extravagance !

“Should they fail in the impending contest, a national bankruptcy must ensue, and consequent ruin await the middling classes !

“The immense landed estates of the aristocracy would exempt them from participating in the general ruin !

“On the other hand, should they be victorious, and the genius of France be laid prostrate, they have contracted a debt that will be their curse ; the very payment of its interest must tend to paralyze every effort of the government, to meet the exigencies of the state, until the nation become wearied by excessive taxation, and poverty, will terminate their sufferings in anarchy, devastation, and all the horrors of revolution !
In either case France will be amply revenged !”

Thus far have I trespassed upon the patience of my readers with the ideas and opinions of that illustrious individual ; coming, at least from such a quarter, it must be interesting ; whether they have been founded in truth, and verified, I

must leave to the judgment of others to determine.

However, it is most certain that great destitution prevails among the industrious classes of the community, and a general discontent is universally prevalent to an alarming degree, the causes of which are obvious—*excessive Taxation in consequence of the Late War—Absenteeism and the Corn Laws—Primogeniture and a deficiency in vigour and decision in our Foreign Policy.*

We shall first treat of the Late War and its consequences, and in what manner it has affected the interests of society in general; and then proceed to the consideration of the others, and conclude with a *coup d'œil* of the present state of the political affairs of Europe.

THE LATE WAR AND ITS RESULTS.

The late destructive war must ever be deplored by the industrious classes of England, on account of the enormous sacrifices made by the country to obtain money, in order to carry on that ill-fated crusade in support of divine right, every means was adopted to render it popular; patriotic songs were encouraged, and the press daily teemed with accounts of the barbarities of the French, and the unexampled and brilliant victories of the immortal Nelson resounded from shore to shore, the whole nation was in a ferment, death to the French monsters quivered on every lip and tongue, the infant lisped it from its patriotic mother.

The national hatred grew up and became in a manner indented with us, it was the favorite theme at our public assemblies and *conversations*.

At length the country became gradually drained of its population, every inducement was held out for the purpose of encouraging our brave youths to join the standard of their country, and fill up the ranks of the fallen brave: namely, extravagant bounties and the prospect of rapid preferment; a generous country amply

providing for her maimed sons, even their widows and orphans were not neglected. Industry at home—victories abroad—enthusiasm was at its highest—every able-bodied man in the empire was certain of finding employment.

An immense capital was afloat, altho' its circulating medium was of a spurious nature, and nearly, if not quite valueless in foreign countries.

In the midst of this bubble of wealth, all idea of futurity was forgotten. No attention was paid to the increasing accumulation of debt, as the only sufferers at the time were the poor clergy and small annuitants.

Taxes were cheerfully paid, new loans granted, and we had, at least, the advantage that the *enormous fortunes* of the *Aristocracy* were spent in the country.

Talent was sought after—the fine arts triumphed—the price of provisions and labour rose to an unprecedented height, which induced the agriculturist to cultivate the most dreary wastes—the annual income of the landholder became doubled, and in some instances tripled; the profits of the farmer, who was so fortunate as to have had a long lease was scarcely credible; instead of accumulating they launched out into a course of luxury, hardly exceeded by the landholder.

Men and things underwent a total revolution,

a universal mania pervaded all classes for imitating the expensive habits of their superiors in wealth and station. A jealousy and hatred was thereby generated in the breasts of the poor towards the rich.

The patriarchal meal of the good old times of our fathers, when the farmer placed himself at the head of the table, surrounded by his happy family and contented servants, was exchanged for gentility and the parlour. French, music, and dancing, occupied the time of the young masters and misses of the establishment; *madame* could no longer endure the shaking of the cushioned cart of her fathers, but adopted the more fashionable vehicle on springs.

The comfortable pillion which carried her grandmother to church, became the height of vulgarity, and was replaced by the side saddle and riding habit.

How often are we the architects of our own misfortunes; unhappily, these habits of misplaced attempts at refinement still exist, and until each separate class is content to remain within their own sphere, and an amalgamation of interests takes place, no remedy can be devised that will take effect.

Besides the attempt to assume habits and manners foreign to their birth and education,

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only provokes ridicule; like the jackdaw in the fable, who thought to excite admiration, by decking himself in the plumes of the peacock.

At length the dreadful contest was decided in favour of Great Britain, her arms were triumphant by land and sea—Europe lay at her feet; the greatest warrior that ever existed, her captive!

The nation became drunk with joy—the *tory ministry* were hailed as the saviours of Europe—their measures became the theme of universal admiration.

The eyes of Europe were turned towards England, *great, virtuous, and liberal*; the nations looked up to her with the anxious hope that the boon of rational liberty, guaranteed by her promises, would be secured to them.

But alas! their destiny was confided to the hands of a man, *vain, selfish, and callous*; whose very name will remain a byword of reproach to the latest generations. What a moment for a patriot? Castlereagh at the head of the holy alliance, disposed of Kingdoms with the stroke of his pen; established frontiers contrary to nature, without reference to language, customs, and manners, thereby generating a feeling of hatred against England and Englishmen. *Liberalism was bound neck and heels, and given up to the chains of despotism!*

But how hast thou been requited, *oh ! my glorious Country*—unexampled in thy bravery—undefatigable and unwearied in thy exertions—unequalled in thy patriotism—the prop of falling Europe—the sanctuary of the liberties of mankind? Thy subsidies and loans were converted into gifts—no steps taken for their liquidation—the debt of Europe saddled alone upon thee—every demand of the holy alliance was acceded to. Emperors and Kings would have been, but for thy exertions, puppets of a despot; the boundaries of whose territories, would have been blotted out from among the nations of Europe.

The Ministers, to whom a generous unsuspecting people confided the national interest, instead of securing a monopoly for our manufactures, or at least, commercial alliances, based upon the principles of reciprocal interests, allowed the wily chiefs of the holy alliance, to prohibit many articles altogether, and to impose on others such high protecting duties, that were it not for the almost superhuman exertions of our manufacturers, aided by machinery, competition would have been impossible.

Why did it not occur to our Ministers, that to secure to national industry a recompense certain and sufficient, would be the most effec-

tual preservative of public tranquility that could be devised? Why did they not remember it was that industry alone, whose energy and enterprize created the wealth, which, combined with our national bravery, formed the invincible bulwark, that defied every effort of combined Europe to destroy?

Because they were defeated by the machinations and artifices of foreign diplomacy; because they were imposed upon by the protestations of those, who, jealous of the influence of England, and hating her liberal institutions, were secretly determined to assail her in that point where she is the most vulnerable.

The holy alliance was established—the temple of Janus closed—fermentation subsided—men's minds became tranquil—too late we perceived the error our Ministers had committed—the undue preponderance of power which we believed we had crushed, was only transferred, and all attempts of each succeeding Minister to repair that unhappy error, have been hitherto ineffectual.

The politic autocrat played his cards well, when at the congress of Vienna; he caressed, flattered, and cajoled our minister,

* * * * *

* * * * *

What has been the result of the nation's misplaced confidence? An enormous debt, which vampire like, gnaws our very vitals; excessive taxation to pay the interest of it, and to meet the other demands of the state. Add to which, the consequences of such taxation, namely:—discontent, pauperism, incendiarism, and a general feeling of insubordination;—these, oh England, have been the rewards of thy victories, and of the expenditure of thy blood and treasure! While those who caused our sufferings, (the Conservatives), those champions of divine right, have borne but an inconsiderable share of the burdens they have imposed; holding the reigns of government in their own hands, every situation of trust and emolument in their gift, with which, they provided for their friends and relatives, assisted by that abominable record of wanton extravagance, the pension list, which was increased to an extent perfectly unexampled in the history of nations.

But even this evil would not have been so severely felt, if it had not been aggravated by their incomes being spent in foreign countries, which has for years been the fashionable mania of nearly all classes of Pensioners; and the threat of the Conservatives, that if the Reform Bill passed, they would desert and ruin the

country, is, I regret to say, now being carried into execution.

But as the question of absenteeism is one of the deepest importance to the nation, we shall treat it in a more lengthened manner.

ABSENTEEISM.

The peace of 1815 opened the doors of the Continent to the wondering, and wonder-seeking inhabitants of Great Britain. They flew over in myriads, like birds just escaped from their cage, few have returned, multitudes have settled there, aristocrats, sinecurists, pensioners, superannuated officers, civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical, consequently millions of the public money are annually spent in enriching the foreigner; colossal fortunes expended in extravagant luxury and dissipation, thousands squandered upon a single *déjeuner à la fourchette*, and the whole art and talent of the Continent laid under contribution, to administer to the sensual enjoyments of the rich sinecurist.

Caressed and encouraged by the poorer potentates of Europe, whose splendour they eclipse, and whose subjects they enrich by their prodigality.

In every country they visit, they are cheated, flattered, ridiculed and plundered, and invariably carry with them, to every clime, their customs and manners, pride and discontent.

In all my tours, equestrian, pedestrian, or *en voiture*, among the thousands with whom I

have conversed, I never met with one contented Englishman absent from England; they pine after the comforts of their country and yet leave them, for the smiles of foreign sovereigns and a smattering of foreign languages.

Opera singers and dancers, actresses, tailors and milliners, jews and gambling-house keepers, restaurateurs and hotel-keepers, are transported with joy when they hear of the arrival of a flock of English, well knowing that their purses will be filled to over-flowing with English guineas; for, from what cause I know not, but the English are of such a gregarious nature that they appear to the foreigner to travel in shoals, as it never happens that two or three families arrive in a town without being followed by a number of others.

The money that they disburse has had the effect of elevating miserable villages to smiling towns, towns to splendid cities, and cities to magnificence. Paris, Rome, Naples and Florence, Vienna, Berlin and Brussels, in short, the principal towns and cities throughout France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany, are crowded with English fashionables, sporting their money on every whim and fancy.

Operas and theatres, which they would deem it the height of bad taste in their own country to frequent, they crowd nightly; can it there-

fore be a matter of surprize that the prosperity of England has been materially affected, by the withdrawal of so much capital; capital for ever lost to the country, which furnished it, *whilst it enriches and strengthens the resources of those who may one day become our enemies.*

This is one great and principal cause of the present general distress, it has had the effect of depriving multitudes of employment, for instance numbers of their servants are discharged and let loose upon society, who, unaccustomed to severe labour and habituated to extravagance, resort to theft for the means of supplying their wants, by which means, crime, destitution and the poor rates are frightfully and rapidly increasing.

Their town and country mansions are deserted, and their estates left to the management of an unfeeling and perhaps oppressive agent.

Abandoned by those, who from their rank, station and property, should have been its guides and protectors; England has continued retrograding, notwithstanding all her advantages of climate, situation, naval supremacy, numerous and extensive colonies, an industrious and enterprizing people, *and the richest Aristocracy in the world*, while the Continent conquered and reconquered, plundered alike by friend and foe, parceled and divided without respect to the

wishes of the inhabitants, in spite of local disadvantages and illiberal institutions; still the inhabitants are making rapid strides towards prosperity; in proof of this, let any person examine the state of the revenues of many of the continental powers; or, if that is not sufficient, let him waft himself to either of the towns I have mentioned, and he will find a general hilarity visible, travelling carriages preceded by gaily dressed couriers, cracking their whips, heralding the arrival of *Milord Anglais*, the prospect of the rich harvest of gain, visibly displayed in the sparkling eye and cringing bow of the complaisant and delighted host. All is bustle and activity, and in many of the first-rate hotels they refuse admittance to a stranger, unless he arrives with post horses, the general answer is, *we are full*; it is difficult even to find private apartments, so great is the influx of strangers, the majority of whom are *English absentees*. Let us reverse the picture to our own principal towns and cities, in many of them we behold gloom and anxiety, instead of *mirth and gaiety*, clean and beautiful hotels without tenants, splendid mansions to be let furnished or unfurnished; it is rarely that we have to welcome a *Monsieur le Comte Francais*, or *Gnädige Herr Baron* more patriotic than ours, they spend their money at home, and many of the few who

do visit us, come either for the purposes of gain or fraud.

In many of the continental cities, an industrious tradesman, who is so fortunate as to be able to speak a little bad English, with a tolerable share of English patronage, is on an average, certain of realizing an independence in about ten years, while his brethren in Great Britain may spend a whole life in trade, with the strictest economy, and end with a bankruptcy; borne down as they are by *taxation, mis-rule and absenteeism*, each of which exercises its separate benumbing influence upon industry.

The absentees may be divided into two classes:—The first comprises gentlemen of independent fortunes; the other is composed of half-pay officers, naval and military, superannuated civil functionaries, dignitaries of the church, and beneficed clergymen. With respect to the first class it is manifestly unjust to interfere with them by any legislative enactments; for it is absolutely essential to the well being of a nation that the perfect independence of property should be secured. If it is not, those who possess it will naturally remove it to countries where it is better protected.

In exact proportion to the firmness of the basis upon which it rests, and to the strength and vigor of the laws, which ensures the dis-

posal of it to its possessor, will be the amount of capital in a country ; it is owing to this that revolutions, rebellions, conspiracies, and insubordination operate such fatal effects to a community, by undermining the defences of property, and consequently causing its rapid removal.

It is true that under despotic governments, where the residence of the landholder is compulsory, a partial good is effected ; still, on the whole, for the reasons I have stated, it is productive of evil.

It is, however, entirely different with the other class I have described ; these are, let them disguise or deny the fact as they will, the paid servants of the community to which they belong ; their income is rendered to them in lieu of services, and England is the only country where its possessor is allowed to expend it in a *foreign land* !

In other countries on the Continent, if this class wish to travel, they must solicit permission, and if they absent themselves without it for any lengthened period, they are deprived of their income. A leave of absence is never accorded for a longer time than six months, and even then they must prove the existence of some cause, which renders absence necessary. In Germany they are obliged to reside in that

country to which they especially belong, whether it is Austria, Prussia, or the minor states. I have been intimately acquainted* in the Austrian dominions with several natives of Ireland and Scotland, who had passed nearly their whole life in the service of that empire, and who pined to return to their native country in their old age, but who had no other alternative offered them except residing in the Austrian territories, or forfeiting their half-pay.

France, who has expended so much blood and treasure, in securing to herself the most liberal institutions, is yet too wise to allow herself to be impoverished, by paying incomes to her public officers, for them to expend in enriching foreigners; the smallest pension derived from the public treasury, is forfeited during the time its possessor becomes an Absentee.

An instance of patriotism, worthy of imitation, occurred there only a few months since. The Duke de Bourbon left a considerable landed estate to his *chère amie*, an Englishwoman, the Baroness de B.; the legislature then wisely decreed, if the estate was sold, the money realized should be invested in the public funds, or other national property.

The numerous half-pay officers, clergy, &c. &c.

* This was previous to the removal of the Catholic disabilities.

who have taken up a permanent residence on the Continent, are actuated by motives of economy, the necessities of life being there considerably cheaper than in England; they have also the advantage of moderate taxes, and no poor rates. The luxury of a carriage and horses, is attainable at a very trifling expense, and this forms a strong inducement to many to reside there; but granting all this, yet how little commensurate with the evils they inflict are the advantages they enjoy. Still the principal share of blame is attributable to the Government, who have allowed multitudes to expend the public money amongst foreigners; insensible to the advantages which accrue from its recirculation in the country whence it is derived; they have, during the last eighteen years, permitted the country to be deprived of millions, without taking a single step to correct the mischief. The loss to the Government in the revenue, is very considerable, but the deleterious consequence to others, is still more so. Manufacturers, tradespeople, landlords of houses, servants, in short, every class not possessed of independent fortunes.

In all my wanderings, and they have been far and wide, I can confidently assert, that I have never been in any city or town of consequence in France, Switzerland, Italy, or Germany, without

meeting with English absentees residing there ; and it seemed as if a portion of the curse attached to the tribe of Israel, was visited upon them, for they are scattered abroad among the nations ! Like that race, they carry with them their peculiar customs and manners, and a caste of countenance which displays a general national expression, and immediately indicates their country. The natives of Ireland constitute the majority, while those of Scotland were always in the minority ; hence, we may infer that the Irish, in this respect, are the least patriotic of all the natives of the British Empire ; and I have invariably observed this difference to characterize the natives of the two Kingdoms, that the former are generally employed in the acquisition of wealth, and the latter in its dissipation.

It is computed that there are at present 170,000 families (absentees from Great Britain) domiciliated in Paris and its immediate *banlieue*, all possessed of independent fortunes. Each family spending upon an average, about £2000. per annum, and this be it remembered, is only one town on the continent. Rome, it is universally acknowledged, owes almost its very existence to the English ; when there a few winters since, I met at the Soirées of the *Duke Torlonia* banker, some of the highest aristocratical fami-

lies of Great Britain ; the winter being the only season of the year that the *mal aria* admits of remaining there. It has often been a subject of astonishment to me, how respectable families can leave the substantial comforts of an English fire-side, to shiver in dirty staircases and marble halls, for the sake of a squeeze at a foreign banker's ; but then they have the ineffable satisfaction of elbowing a foreign prince, and not unfrequently, *a sovereign !*

The Continent in general, as a winter residence, is an unenviable one. A perfect dearth of comfort is every where felt ; fuel excessively dear, and a general absence of carpets and curtains ; in fact, the word comfort is unknown in the vocabularies of Europe. Their houses in general seem to have been built more as a refuge from the summer heat, than as a protection from the cold withering blasts that enter at every pore. In England, at least you have the advantage of houses adapted to the climate, together with the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing a fine blazing fire before you.

A residence in Italy, or the South of France, is not I think so beneficial in pulmonary disorders as is generally imagined ; the chilling blasts that invariably prevail in the winter and spring neutralize whatever benefit might be derived from the climate being a few degrees

milder than our own; while in summer the heat is exhausting, and to an invalid almost insupportable; and, if to this we add the absence of many little comforts, *peculiarly English*, we cannot be surprised at the disappointment which the enfeebled sufferer so frequently experiences.

Another circumstance extremely dangerous to the health of foreigners, in the South of Europe, is the excessive heat of the winter sun. Merely crossing the street into the shade has been known to produce an intermittent fever, particularly during a slight frost or a cold north-east wind; and yet there is no plea so frequently and so triumphantly adduced for its justification by the *Absentee* as that of ill health; it is indeed the only one that carries with it any degree of plausibility, for no other will bear even the shadow of defence by those who voluntarily inflict such an evil upon their country; for that it is one of the greatest magnitude, both *ancient* and *modern* history sufficiently attest, as they afford many instances of flourishing towns and cities reduced by its continued operation to a state of utter insignificance. We have, unfortunately, in our own time and country, a practical exemplification of the truth of this assertion. Behold Ireland!

The desire to educate their children is also

another excuse very frequently urged by Absentees, and if that education was superior to any they could receive at home, it would be admissible: but the contrary is the fact, whether it regards the intellect, the morals, or the manners. With respect to the first, the mass of general information and knowledge current, if I may so speak, in England, is indisputably far greater than on the Continent: for the truth of this I appeal to any man who has been absent for any length of time from England, and he will allow that on his return he has much to learn.

The knowledge of the customs, laws, and institutions of our country, are, by means of the public press so widely disseminated, that our youth are educated in them as it were insensibly, and when they arrive at manhood, they are consequently qualified to act their parts in the great theatre of English social life; all this is lost by a *foreign education*.

In a critical acquaintance with their native language a lamentable deficiency is also apparent; the language to which they are accustomed in infancy is naturally that in which they will think. Hence in writing or speaking they translate French, Italian, or German, into English, and consequently form a style full of idioms and expressions, which belong to no language whatever. But they have English

parents, who always accustom them to their native tongue. "It avails nothing." Their servants, playmates, school-fellows—in short, nearly every person with whom they converse are *foreign*; and, though their accent may be pure, yet they will never become versed in the niceties of their language, except at an expense of study, which few in mature years are willing to submit to.

That they can have no attachment to England when so educated is self evident; for it is well known that the infant affections twine around the scenes of childhood and of youth with a tenacity which no length of years has power to divorce.

The expenses of education at the Continental universities are decidedly much less than those of England, particularly in Germany. There, at a very reasonable rate, the student may receive a most excellent general education, but without much advantage either to his morals or his manners, smoking, drinking beer, fighting sham and real duels, and politics, being the general occupation of the students during their hours of recreation. In short, a young man may become a very good scholar, but he will be a very indifferent gentleman.

To say the truth, there are no universities in Europe, comparable to those of Oxford and Cam-

bridge, for a student to receive, if I may so term it, a *gentlemanly education*.

There are also many objections to educating females on the Continent, for instance, the tone of moral feeling is in some countries, much lower than that of England, add to which, there is to be found a very considerable levity of manners, and though I do not wish to be understood as dealing forth a sweeping censure on all classes; yet it is most certain, that a young lady educated in a boarding school on the continent, is not calculated to perform the duties of an English wife and mother; and when, in after life, she mixes in English society, it is but too probable that she will consider the restraints irksome and annoying which that society imposes, and repine for the freedom of foreign customs and manners. The love of amusement they acquire, in opposition to the quiet tranquil habits of English domestic life, is another pernicious consequence of a continental education.

It is too evident to every observer of the English on the Continent of the present day, that they are generally more prone to copy, what is objectionable than what is praiseworthy in foreign manners, that assumption of the French *Tournure*, which sits so awkwardly upon them, is a never failing source of ridicule

to the natives; and when they return home, they are not less ridiculous to their own countrymen. Among many I could cite, I will mention only one instance of absurdity, to give it no harsher name.

An English lady, who resided principally at Naples, equally celebrated for her immense fortune and eccentricities, not content with the renown of her brilliant *conversazione*, (which, by the bye, were more numerous than select,) and with being one of the most celebrated leaders of the *beau monde*, induced, either by her passion for notoriety, or by an ambition of creating a revolution, in the usual style of ladies, equestrian exercises, (in which by the way my fair countrywomen appear to peculiar advantage,) was actually to be seen mounted *a la Turque*, on the most popular *promenades* in and about Naples, such as the *Strada Toledo*, the *Largo del Palazzo*, &c.; but to the honour of the good taste of the Neapolitan ladies, not one of them imitated this exhibition of folly. I am sorry to say, that if the virtues of Englishwomen were to be estimated by the examples too frequently beheld, on the Continent, they never would have become proverbial.

We should never have heard a Frenchman exclaim, when praising a female friend—*Elle est vertueuse comme une Anglaise*, or *elle est*

bonne mère, comme une Anglaise. It must, however, in justice be admitted, that there are many of the most estimable English families residing abroad, beloved and respected, both by the natives and their compatriots whose exemplary conduct excites universal admiration, and who are most anxious to return home, but are deterred from doing so, by the high price of provisions, taxes, poor rates, &c. Another great objection to continental English society, is the number of *roués*, discarded from all respectable society at home, and fraudulent debtors, that are now to be met with in almost every part of the Continent, practising the profession of *Chevalier d'Industrie!*

The English Absentees are generally destitute of any important occupation, hence their leading characteristic is a love of scandal and gossip. The general subject of conversation is almost universally their *neighbours!* and I have invariably found them divided into parties most inveterate in their animosities towards each other. Let us reverse the picture, and fancy our own streets and promenades embellished with picturesque groups of absentee foreigners, from every part of the Continent, in their peculiar costume, each displaying on the most trivial occasions their national eccentricities, exciting in no small degree the merriment and ridicule

of John Bull, would not this be a most cheering prospect for hotel-keepers, proprietors of lodging houses, interpreters, lacqueys out of place, and Ciceronis?

Antique carriages from Paris, enlivening Hyde Park, which seem as if they had carried to Court, the beauties of the reign of *Louis XIV.* Grandees and Princes of the church, of whose *splendid* vehicles I can give no better description than to request my reader to travel back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and to imagine the cumbrous gilt state coaches of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; Cardinals displaying their red and violet coloured stockings, with their different varieties of clerical costume, each attended by a secretary and servant, in laced livery; Friars and shaven-pated Monks, with vestment and cowl, sandals and rope girdle; mustachiod half-pay officers, with spurs half an ell long, dangling at their heels, making a noise at every step, like the bells on the head of a Merry Andrew; sinecurists and rich landed proprietors, scattered all over the country. If this picture was real and not imaginary, industry would flourish and the revenue be considerably augmented; but as I have before observed, the laws of their respective countries preclude such an exhibition from taking place; their Governments, more provident than ours, oblige them

to spend their *wealth* in that *country* whose *labour* has created it.

Among the various classes of *Absentees*, there is none so reprehensible as the clergy; the sheep committed to their charge are left to be devoured by wolves. Instead of devoting their time, talents, and energy, to the instruction of the people, they dedicate themselves to gossiping, trifling amusements, and, in some instances I regret to say, to gambling. Why is it that the dignitaries of the church suffer them to reside not only out of the parishes from whence they derive their incomes, but absent from the country?

I maintain that a long residence on the Continent is productive of many evils; it not only estranges us from our own country, but assimilates our manners to those of our adopted one. There Sabbath breaking, dissipation, and irreligion, are but too frequent; while the English are emancipated from those restraints, which, in their own country, exercise a powerful influence in regulating their conduct. There they have no public opinion to control them—no unshackled press, that scourge of immorality to brand their names with infamy and reproach; and, after a long familiarity with the levity and vice which surrounds them, the moral sense becomes blunted, and they end in exceeding

their associates in profligacy. In short, they become *Unenglish* in every thought, word, and action ; and among these we are to select persons perhaps to fill some of the most important appointments in the realm.

I lament to say that I have sometimes met with natives of Great Britain, who, after many years absence, seemed to glory in the appellation of *citoyen du monde*, and disdained to acknowledge affinity, obligation, or gratitude, to the land of their ancestors and birth ; and yet nothing is more common than to hear foreigners of every nation envy the proud privilege of being called a free-born Englishman. Nothing is more delightful than to hear the overflowings of patriotism. The vivacious Neapolitan will tell you that his beloved Naples is *Un pezzo del ciel caduto in terra!* The epithets of the French in praise of their country are boundless, you hear on all sides—*Chère France, ma patrie chérie!*

I remember when travelling through Bavaria, during the severe winter of 1829, in a sledge, at a time when Réaumur marked 26 degrees of cold, which was so intense, that water even froze in rooms where a large fire was burning in the stove, when the ink, as if determined that I should not pen the records, congealed to ice, if absent only a few minutes from the stove ; and

when, as a climax to all, the windows apparently out of spite shivered to pieces from the severity of the frost. 'That my fellow travellers, natives of Bavaria, after hearing me detail in the course of conversation the inconveniences to which the inhabitants of the *Torrid Zone* are liable, cried out in extacy—*Unser Baiern ist ein wahres Himmelreich!* In short, whether among the inhabitants of the Poles or the Equator, we shall find a feeling of patriotism universally prevalent; and that man must be deficient in soul whose conscience does not upbraid him, when he denies his country !

The frequent communication with the Continent—the protracted residence there of so many of the English Nobility, and we may add, of their children, who are there educated, has had the effect of changing, not to say vitiating the public taste with some classes ; to say a thing is foreign, is to stamp it at once with *excellence*, and it is probably to this cause, that we must attribute the neglect of the fine arts. It was with the sincerest regret, I observed on my return to England, the neglect and decline of this noble and beautiful branch of national industry ; which, when it flourishes, is an unerring criterion from whence to deduce that a nation is in an advanced state of civilization ; there are many artists, at this moment, of the

highest merit, languishing in penury, merely from the want of patronage, who, if they had but the means of transporting themselves to any of the court residences in Europe, would be certain of distinction.

To the same cause is principally referable, the decline of the drama, the encouragement of which, had produced a Shakspeare, an Otway, a Garrick, and a Siddons; that fine school of declamation, and which, if properly directed, advances the best interest of morality; at present, produces little better than insignificant *vaudevilles*. The fate of literature is little better; in proof of this, let any person take up one of the *Annals*, he will there find that the names of the contributors, are those of the Aristocracy, as if birth and talent were synonymous; for this piece of folly, the public are principally to blame, so long as they imagine the productions of patricians to be of a superior description, so long will publishers find it their interest to prefer their writings, most of which, time will prove to have been merely of an ephemeral description.

A slavish imitation of the Aristocracy, pervades the middling classes in general, and leads many into extravagances and an expenditure, which they are utterly unable to support.

In fact, to vote a watering place, a theatre, &c. unfashionable, is it to vote its destruction,

without any regard to its local advantages or real merits.

In every society, you are tormented by those with whom you converse, with the sayings and doings of their aristocratical acquaintances ; and if they should be so extremely unfortunate as not to have any, they are repeated to you at second and third hand.

A gentleman may visit the *soirée* of a sovereign Prince on the Continent, *à pied*, and be courteously and warmly received, whereas, if he arrives at the door of a purse-proud English tradesman in a hackney coach, he is greeted with a cool reception, and "not at home," the answer to all future enquiries.

Since then, every grade of the community is influenced either directly or remotely in its acts and in its manners, by the Aristocracy. May we not hope that they will patriotically resolve to render absenteeism *unfashionable*, and together with those nobles who have never deserted their country, join the public voice, and by the means of the press, inflict on Absenteeism, the odium they deserve, by giving publicity to their names and to the amount of capital they draw from the country.

It was Absenteeism that lost Charles, Duke of Brunswick his throne, and it was his wanton expenditure of the public money upon the Coun-

tess R.,* which caused the expulsion of the Elector of Hesse Cassel ; and have not the English nation a right to insist that those domains, which were originally grants from the country, and which invest their possessors with an influence and sway, almost sovereign, should be made subservient to the benefit of the people by having the revenues derived from them spent in the country.

Although on many points, I am entirely adverse to their political opinions, still I admire the patriotism of the Dukes of Wellington and Newcastle, the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Eldon, and many others ; who, if they were to visit foreign courts, would be honored, fêted, and caressed by all the European potentates. From a reciprocity of feeling, they are perhaps, deserving of the more praise, as they certainly have received provocations, which might, in some degree, justify their absence. Their property was destroyed, their characters and conduct traduced and ridiculed, their lives menaced, and this in a country blessed with liberal institutions. If the public acts of any class of men are inimical to the majority of the population, that is no reason for the exhibition of brutal outrages to them, as private individuals, neither

* Reichenbach.

on the other hand, should the enemies of Liberty revenge their loss of power upon their poor dependants, by abandoning their country, as discontent and insubordination are certain to ensue; the poor should learn to know their real friends. An ostentatious display of oratory, in defence of the rights of the people, will not compensate them for the loss of thousands spent out of the country; many of these noisy patriots fly to the continent, dissipate the public money and their own private fortunes, and then laugh at the credulity of John Bull!

Oratorical rhapsodies, glowing with patriotism, consecration of their best energies to the land of their birth, devotion of their time and talents to the public weal; all this is very imposing in the pages of the public journals, but let the poor man remember, that it is the *acts* of the rich, and not their *professions*, which will tend to advance the national prosperity. I cannot conclude this part of my subject, without adverting to the line of conduct pursued by two *illustrious Dukes*, the one has always professed himself the firm unchanging friend of the people, and — he has never quitted England! the other, who has been always hostile to liberal institutions, and who is certainly more German than English, rarely resides in his native land!

In instancing those nobles I have mentioned,

I would not be understood to overlook others of a different political creed, whose patriotism in this respect, as well as in every other, cannot be too highly commended; I mean the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, Earl Spencer, Mr. Coke, and many others.

How different is their conduct from that of those among the titled and the wealthy, who first spread ruin in their neighbourhood, then discharge their numerous retinue, and fly to the Continent to escape their creditors, leaving to the state, a diminished revenue, and to their respective parishes, an increase of paupers and poor rates. They complain, especially the Irish patricians and gentry, of the increased insubordination of the lower orders, which they say renders a residence among them dangerous; but to what cause is this principally attributable? to non-resident landlords, for we may be assured that the prosperity of all classes of the community is interwoven with each other, and that the noblest employments of the higher ranks of society, is to encourage and reward industry, to expend their revenues on their estates, and to teach the poor that the workhouse was instituted not as an asylum for idleness, but as a refuge for the aged and the destitute. Let them do this, and they will reap from their dependants a rich harvest of gratitude; for it is contrary to

human nature, in general, and certainly a very rare occurrence, for the hand of man to be lifted against his benefactor.

But as example on all occasions pleads more powerfully than precept, I shall quote that of a Silesian nobleman, well known in this country ; who, after travelling through different parts of Europe, finally selected England as his chief model ; he familiarized himself with our language, customs, and institutions, every particular of which, he minutely examined. His ancestral domain was situated in one of the wildest districts of Silesia, his vassals were not many degrees removed from barbarism, chiefly owing to the continued absenteeism of his predecessors.

The old margravia castle had become nearly uninhabitable, and there was hardly any trace of cultivation visible in its environs ; the moat was choked up with sedges, reeds, and sand, the accumulation of years ; the bat and the screech owl were the only tenants of the towers ; desolation reigned throughout ! The land was sterile and unproductive. His immediate neighbours, though noblemen, were rude and ignorant, consequently their society was *ennuyeuse*, to one educated at the court of a Sovereign ; himself the descendant of Sovereigns ; and what was more, a man of intellect and education,

whose literary productions have charmed us. As a climax to all his difficulties, his tenants and dependents were Vandals, a people rude, ignorant, and of the most obtuse intellect; but no obstacle appeared insurmountable to this patriotic nobleman; and it was a sufficient incitement to his exertions that it was the domain and the residence of his ancestors. A very few years have elapsed, and the deserted castle has become the resort of taste, rank, and fashion; and, above all, of genius and talent, which are certain of finding there a most warm and cordial reception from its hospitable owner. A dreary waste has been converted into a smiling landscape; to a wilderness has succeeded a pleasure ground; the rhododendron rears its proud head where the heath formerly flourished; and dangerous morasses have become verdant lawns. Abundance has succeeded desolation. Industry and prosperity characterises those vassals who were formerly distinguished for their poverty, idleness, and dishonesty. Districts that were once famous for lawless bandits and hordes of prowling vagabonds, are now celebrated for the industry, honesty, and good conduct of the peasantry; and the example of their beloved prince has been imitated on an humbler scale by his dependents, whose little cottages are plentifully decorated with such flowers and

evergreens as the climate will allow to flourish, it being ungenial and the winters long and severe.

It has been productive of a two-fold advantage to the noble owner; his property has nearly doubled in value, and he has the enviable gratification of having entirely eradicated pauperism out of his domain, and has acquired the warm affections of a grateful and contented peasantry.

The surrounding hills have been scientifically explored in search of mines; he has been successful, and hundreds are employed in working them.

A mineral spring has been discovered on the estate, which induced the prince to erect a pump room, assembly and coffee rooms, places of amusement, promenades; in short, nothing has been omitted that can administer to the gratification of the visitor. His own spacious pleasure grounds and park, (which can vie in beauty and good taste with some of the finest in Great Britain,) are at all times open to the public—even the meanest peasant is not refused admittance. This indulgence has never been abused, as the slightest disorder or outrage is totally unknown, and which is referable to the affectionate and grateful feeling entertained by the peasantry towards their benevolent and enterprising landlord, which shows

that a people are capable of appreciating the conduct of those nobles who devote their time, talents, wealth, and power, to the amelioration of the physical and moral condition of their dependents.

It is earnestly to be wished, that this example may be followed by some of our own Absentee nobles, of high character and large fortune, particularly those of the *sister kingdom*—there indeed is a wide field upon which to exercise their benevolence. Let us then hope that philanthropic patriotism will become fashionable; it would pacify discontent, and render innocuous the harangues of revolutionary demagogues. It would have the effect of annihilating the distance between the higher and lower ranks of the community; it would produce in the one, confidence unmingled with distrust, and in the other, a warm and sincere affection, without slavishness or servility.

If Prince von Pückler-Muskau, the Silesian nobleman already alluded to, whose domain, though vast, does not produce a revenue, equal to one-tenth of many of our large landed proprietors, has been so eminently successful, how much more is it not in the power of English noblemen to accomplish? They have at least wealth, and an intellectual people, capable of every improvement.

A Commonwealth may be compared to a hive of bees, each individual of which contributes, or ought to contribute, his quota to the general wealth. An imitation of the example of these industrious insects, is the surest road to national prosperity; in this we may receive a lesson from the United States of America, there each individual is engaged in the pursuit of wealth, hence their rapid strides towards attaining an exalted rank in the scale of nations.

I shall conclude this part of my subject, by recommending the whole of the industrious classes of the community, to petition Parliament to pass an act prohibiting all persons, who derive any emolument from the country, from spending their incomes in a foreign land.

If thousands of Englishmen were to assemble with arms in their hands, tumultuously insisting upon the redress of some imaginary grievance, the legislature would immediately and unanimously pass an act, declaring the country under martial law; yet that evil, however great, would be far inferior in magnitude, less inimical to the prosperity of the country, than that mischievous *Absentee mania*, whose pernicious tendency I have been endeavouring to point out.

INCENDIARISM.

The present crisis imperatively demands, that the wealthy and the powerful of our land should arouse themselves; insubordination and discontent is every where visible; the want of employment has produced destitution, and the *monster anarchy*, armed with the torch of the dark diabolical incendiary, strides over the whole land, illuminating the midnight Heavens with the produce of industry, the destruction of which affects not alone the suffering individual, but the whole community may be said as it were to participate in the loss. This newly-invented crime is a disgrace to the nation, unworthy of civilized England! the practice of it reduces us to a level with the most abandoned countries; and that man must be more than commonly depraved, who flings the devastating torch among the food which Heaven has sent for the sustenance of his fellow creatures. If actuated by revenge or malice, the act is dastardly, and stamps the perpetrator a coward, and the legislature ought to inflict the severest punishment which the law will sanction; for (as

I have before remarked) no well organized nation can exist, unless the most inviolable respect is paid to private property. For, as the acquirement of it is the impetus, which sets the wheels of industry in motion, the welfare of a community depends upon its protection and security.

We have at least the consolation to remember, that it did not originate in England, but I am sorry to say we have exceeded our instructors in atrocity.

It would be well if our national taste for copying was limited to such objects as, though absurd, are innocent. Such for instance as the silly adoption of the tri-coloured flag, as if our own national colours (which have waved so often in victory over that very *tri-colore*) was not a prouder emblem than any we can borrow from our neighbours. That man, if an Englishman, who first proposed it, was a traitor; and the party who lowered the national importance by adopting it, were certainly under the influence of a violent paroxysm of Gallomania. England herself great and mighty, the birth-place and cradle of liberty, Europe has to thank her alone for the little independence it possesses, and her flag was the first unfurled in its defence!

THE CORN LAWS.

I shall now proceed to the consideration of the next great impediment to national prosperity, the existing corn laws. Why the legislature should continue to isolate us from the rest of Europe, by restrictions at once injudicious and tyrannical, may be easily conceived? The majority of them are large landed proprietors, and if this measure was conceded, land would then correspond in value with the Continent; provisions would become cheap, and that prime article of human subsistence *bread!* could be purchased at half its present price. To their avarice is sacrificed the true interests of the empire! If the prices of provisions were to be equalized, and the consequent reduction of the price of labour to ensue, our high-spirited manufacturers, from their superior taste, talent, and industry, would obtain a voluntary monopoly for their manufactures on the Continent; and every measure which tends to increase the prosperity of those manufactures, adds to the wealth of the nation. Perhaps this encouragement was never more necessary than at present,

when the Continental manufacturers are encroaching upon every branch of our industry, not to mention the numerous renegades to their country, who have established themselves in every part of the Continent, in direct opposition to the best interests of their native land!

The concession of this important measure would not only promote the prosperity of the manufacturers, but, at the same time, open a new channel of commerce to a people active and ardent, ever foremost in enterprize, when the pursuit is wealth. England would then become the *corn exchange of Europe*, and thousands of brave mariners, who now languish in penury, would be employed in importing and exporting. *Granaries* might be erected on scientific principles, capable of preserving corn for years, not alone for the consumption of Great Britain, but for any other country that might have an occasion for a supply.

Nature never intended England to be a corn country, for though it produces grain of a most superior quality, yet, owing to the peculiar moistness of the atmosphere, the congenial mildness of the climate, and the quantity of rain which falls during every period of the year, it is preferable to any other as a grazing country, and nearly the whole of it might, with advan-

tage, be converted into pasture and meadow land, thereby lessening the labour, expenses, and risk of the farmer.

Where, but in Great Britain, is to be seen that lovely verdure which greets the eye at all seasons of the year, and where cattle can at all times graze in the open fields; whereas, in other parts of Europe, the grass is either burnt up by the parching sun, or smitten down by the hoary frost, it being as necessary to protect them in summer from the rays of the sun, as it is in winter from the intensity of the cold. This is the chief cause of the inferior quality of animal food on the Continent.

In this article England excels the world; and the superabundance would find a profitable market in any of the adjacent countries. Also the produce of the dairy would be productive of very considerable profit, as it is already sought after with avidity in the Southern parts of Europe. It may be deemed impolitic by many to depend upon foreigners, for a supply of the article most essential to man's nourishment; because, in the event of a war, those countries from whom we receive it, would have it in their power to deprive us of it; (but in consequence of our supremacy at sea, have we not still the means of procuring it from some other friendly power?) the recipro-

exercise their influence for the good of their subjects. Immediately after the peace of 1815, provisions and taxes fell almost immediately, and have since that period progressively declined on the Continent; and at this moment they are nearly on a level with the prices previous to the late war; and it is remarkably striking to all observant travellers the few instances that are to be met with of utter destitution. Poverty is, no doubt, to be found; but the lamentable histories too often recorded in our country of *death by starvation* are rarely heard of; and, during a residence of many years on the Continent, a single case never came within my observation.

The Government of many of the Continental despots is really parental, particularly that of the Emperor of Austria and many of the minor states of Germany, at least when political offences are not concerned, these are certainly punished with great severity. The laws are generally mild and strictly administered; and the excellent regulations of the police, render detection and punishment, the almost certain consequences of crime, incendiarism, murder, and other awful offences, whose details blacken the pages of our daily press, are almost unheard of throughout the whole of Germany. The system of taxation does not materially affect the

interests of the poor, except in a very small degree; it is upon such articles of luxury as are consumed by the rich, especially foreign manufactures and produce, that the principal duties are levied.

Another circumstance that contributes to the prosperity of that country is, that property is more equally divided. We do not there find the extremes of wealth and indigence, which are so frequently and so frightfully contrasted with us;—*there are no poor laws, and yet the poor are provided for !*

PRIMOGENITURE.

I doubt much whether the law of **Primogeniture**, as established in England, is beneficial to a country, it gives to a few individuals an undue preponderance in the state—the most effectual method of annihilating the immense wealth and power of the Aristocracy, as individuals, would be to abrogate this law; in doing which there could be no injustice, as it would be merely a division of the property among the junior branches of the family. It might also have the effect of arousing the dormant energies of many who would otherwise have risen to great fame and importance in the realm, had not their faculties been benumbed by the amplitude of their inheritance. We have a practical illustration of this in France, where the rescinding of this law has been the remote means of developing the talent and energies of many, who otherwise would have remained in obscurity, and has certainly tended to advance, in a considerable degree, the prosperity of the middling classes, and the industrious artisan.

It is indisputable that all districts, which do not possess large landed proprietors, are the happiest and have the least number of paupers; because almost invariably the small landed proprietor lives upon the estate, and expends the revenue derived from it in the immediate neighbourhood. While the Lord of thousands of acres never perhaps in his life once visited the patrimony bequeathed to him by his forefathers. As the country affords but few excitements to chase away that *ennui*, which, like a mist, envelopes those among the possessors of wealth, who do not devote themselves to any useful pursuit, they generally resort to large cities, and endeavour at public places to fill up that *vacuum* which imbecile idleness has left in their minds; accustomed from their infancy to flattery and adulation, as the expectant heirs to the ancestral domains, which frequently generates a temper irascible, arrogant, and impatient of control or contradiction.

It is a most unnatural law to deprive children, born of the same parents, of a portion of that patrimony to which the laws of nature justly entitle them, and which the remains of feudal institutions have conspired to withhold from them. Whereas, if it was equally divided, there would be no necessity for resorting to rebellion or revolution, in order to destroy extravagant

disparity of station, for it would gradually disappear, together with its whole train of pride, jealousy, discontent, and hatred! How many amiable younger sons of aristocratical families, who otherwise might be happy in the bosom of natural and peaceful delights, wander through life a prey to every species of mortification, condemned to drag through their whole existence *the galling chain of dependence*, being either obliged to purchase the privilege of being *shot*, or bow their lofty spirits to become *public paupers*, which enviable post is often obtained by the parliamentary influence of an elder brother; while too many debase themselves by the contrivances of fraud, in order to uphold their station as junior branches of a noble family, as it would be disgraceful that a lord's brother should pursue any employment derogatory to the dignity of a gentleman.

It has been already incontestibly proved, that when the land has been divided into small farms, the increased comforts of the peasantry are every where apparent. The effects of Primogeniture produce similar results, and I have no doubt that if the law for perpetuating property in the first-born male, although of very ancient date, was entirely rescinded, the most important benefits would ensue to the community.

But remember my readers, these are but hints submitted to your consideration. That man must be possessed of more than human wisdom, who can predict confidently the results of such important changes, and the hasty adoption of untried theories is at all times a dangerous experiment!

The law of Primogeniture has created an Aristocracy, unequalled in wealth, and that wealth has installed them in a dominion, almost absolute; for it has ever been, and will continue to constitute, *de facto*, the Aristocracy of a country. The question is, which will tend most to the prosperity of a nation, a nobility with entailed estates, or those fabrics of wealth which are reared by energy and enterprise? the adoption of the latter would certainly create an additional stimulus to industry; as industry then would have a wide field for its exercise, and the highest appointments in the realm would be placed within its grasp. The possessors of entailed estates already enjoy that privilege; their acts are before us!

Hitherto their influence has been exercised in obstructing the progress of every popular measure which might directly, or remotely tend to diminish that influence, and the popular motto *vox populi, vox dei*, is according to their interpretation *vox populi, vox diaboli*. This was exemplified by their

conduct during the struggle for reform. When our beloved Sovereign in the plenitude of popularity, was graciously pleased to promote and recommend that measure, their withering blast was here only too perceptible. Every means were adopted to frustrate his intentions, imaginary fears instilled, the utter subversion of the throne, the laws, and social order, confidently predicted! The Monarch hesitated and lost his popularity!

If he had pursued, what appears to have been the unbiassed dictates of his benevolent mind, to promote the happiness of his people, the memory of William IV. would have been blessed by ages yet unborn! *Reform* has been granted, and notwithstanding the prognostics of the *alarmists*, his Majesty still retains possession of the proudest throne in the Universe, still reigns over the freest people in the world, and the great machine of social order has not yet been shattered by revolutionary violence and anarchy.

It has been said, that monarchy and liberty are incompatible, but it has been demonstrated, that when united with a powerful Aristocracy and Democracy, they form a Constitution, the separate parts of which are so opposed to each other, that their coalition for the subversion of public liberty is an event, which may be deemed almost impossible. In order, however, to secure

all the benefits which such a Constitution is calculated to confer, no single part should possess an undue preponderance over the other.

But the popular doctrine of equality!—that *leveller* of all classes and distinctions, which has become the favorite theme of our inventive and ever restless neighbours, and has been so industriously propagated by them on the Continent, has also, I am sorry to say, found its way into our own sea-girt isle.

It is one of the wildest theories ever conceived by the human mind, and, if reduced to practice, the destruction of the last remnant of man's terrestrial happiness would indubitably follow! The fiat of nature is opposed to it; inequality is stamped upon the whole human race, both as regards their intellect and their morals. The intelligent and the industrious ever have and ever will perform the principle *role* on the stage of life, and if the paralyzing hand of equalisation was to be laid upon them, it would produce only a temporary effect, things would soon revert to their former channels, for they never would contentedly toil for the obtuse of intellect and the idle; all ordinary motives of exertion, fame, wealth, and the desire of providing for a family would be extinguished; and it is probable, that the majority of the subjects of the new empire of equality would very soon be of opinion

that to sink into the lap of indolence, was the best method of employing time.

This new *political creed* has recently made such frightful progress in Germany, that it has called forth the animadversions of a popular German* writer, which, if I may be allowed, I shall quote in his own words.

“By the establishment of equality, a long train of heavenly virtues would become extinct, charity, selfdenial, humility, filial obedience, disinterested affection, noble, generous, tender feelings, all would become withered upon the sterile and unproductive soil of *equality*. Justice would become paralyzed by selfishness, there would be no longer friends and lovers, but companions, united according to the dictates of circumstances and conveniences, or for the increase of population.

“In the place of parental authority would be substituted, the state police; in lieu of a monarch, we should have a president; noble knights would be exchanged for citizen soldiers; domestic servants for mercenary hirelings; and as a climax to all, instead of an Almighty Creator to worship and adore, we should have a Constitutional Sovereign of the world *in abstracto*.

“Poetry and art, taste, science, learning, luxury and magnificence would disappear, and carry with

*The Author of a Tour of a German Prince, Tutti Frutti, &c.

them all the delights of intellectual enjoyments. To each individual would be supplied all that is necessary for the support of animal existence, but a superfluity would be accorded to none—ambition would cease to exist, for there would be no lofty summit to ascend, no temple of fame to animate our endeavours after excellence—to secure a sufficiency of the common necessities of life would be the ultimatum of our endeavours.”

Let us then leave this poisonous weed to the land that produced and reared it, for we may be assured, that no institution of foreign growth can be transplanted with advantage to the English soil. Our humid uncongenial climate is incapable of yielding the fruits of the south ; “*Ours, thank Heaven, is not the land of Champagne!*” Magna Charta, Trial by Jury, Habeas Corpus, in short, all our most cherished, most valued institutions, are they not the products of our native soil !

We ought to beware of adopting any new theory of a people hasty and inconsiderate ; fond of novelty, therefore easily imposed upon, by what is plausible and specious. The same wild *fancy* which is now attempting to create an *empire of equality*, has already enthroned and worshipped the *goddess of reason*. The same *noble people*, whose glorious achievements in

1830 were the admiration of Europe, are now become the puppets of a *despot*, alias citizen King, the son of *Egalité*, who in his splendid halls receives *tout le monde*, shakes hands with the meanest peasant, while at the same time he persecutes the press, and has incarcerated thousands of those very *patriots* who have been instrumental in advancing him to the throne. He reviews and compliments the national guards while he surrounds their ill-fated capital like a prison, with walls and towers, whose artillery will one day be turned upon the devoted city to stifle the first murmur of discontent in its infancy. Finally, he has bound his whole system with the chain of military despotism, the links of which have been so well forged and firmly cemented by Marshall Soult, that it will probably require another glorious *Trois Jour* to rend it asunder !

THE POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE.

I shall now proceed to make a few observations upon the general state of Europe.

I regret to say that the first idea that occurs, is the want of vigour apparent in the foreign policy of our Ministers, particularly as it respects Russia. The great object of England ought to be, to repress the encroachments of that power, whose undue ascendancy and superior diplomatic talent is pregnant with danger to this country, and, if not arrested and controlled, we may anticipate a tedious and sanguinary contest at some future period for our rights as a nation.

Our apathy during the heroic contest of unhappy Poland, and the almost total neglect of every thing relative to Germany, has been, to use the mildest term, highly imprudent. That noble people, who possess so many national traits of character similar to our own, and whose conduct to the Polish refugees, is an immortal monument to their honour.

The unfortunate exiles, driven from the homes of their forefathers, by the three Imperial reb-

bers, were received by Germany with enthusiasm, and this in defiance of the mandates of her Sovereigns; their progress every where resembled a *Triumph*—they were feasted and abundantly provided for by the voluntary donations of the people; and, as the birds of the air, during their flight through different countries, disseminate the seeds of the earth, in like manner have the expatriated Poles scattered the seeds of liberty throughout Germany!

This great country, not inferior to England herself in civilisation, intelligence, and a true sense of the blessings of constitutional liberty, is *ripe for revolt*, and only awaits the firing of the first hostile cannon of the despots, and the invasion of her territory by Russia and her Autocrat, to proclaim herself free; when the green fields and impenetrable forests and passes of the ancient Germania (the country of Luther and Wallenstein, the birth-place of printing,) will become the grave of Muscovites, as it was that of the Romans, in the days of the immortal Herman (or Arminius)!

During a long residence in that country, I found that a feeling of deep and bitter hatred towards the Russians and their despotic government, was implanted in the breast of almost every German, whether *Aristocrat* or *Democrat*, and they only await a favourable moment for

shewing the national contempt for their Sovereigns, who, through dire necessity and fear for the growing liberality of their subjects, have thrown themselves into the arms of the *Scythian Colossus!*

Italy is already on the brink of a volcano, which is only prevented from exploding by Austrian bayonets! Spain and Portugal already in arms! In fact, the whole of Europe may be compared to a mine filled with the most inflammable materials, ready for instant ignition!

Civilisation and liberality have become wedded to each other; divine right and despotism crumbling to dust; monarchs trembling upon the tottering thrones of their ancestors; empty treasuries, and the public money dissipated in paying mercenary troops; the sanctuary alike of the noble and the peasant violated by hosts of spies; the wife bribed against the husband, and the husband against the wife; and the father and son arrayed in unnatural hostility. The most severe restrictions imposed upon knowledge; and the independence of the public press nearly annihilated by a rigid and tyrannical *censorship*. An inquisitorial and tortuous system pursued to prevent even the possibility of smuggling liberal publications into their dominions.

What despotic government then will dare to risk a war with England, aware, as they must be,

of the combustible materials which exist in their own bosoms, and which she could at any time fan into the fiercest flames of domestic discord. *If we had a Minister of a bold, decided, uncompromising character*, there would be no necessity for sending useless and expensive special missions to court the favour of the imperial Autocrat, *dictation alone would be sufficient, without having recourse to a weapon to enforce it.* Omnipotent at sea, our fleet once set in motion, adieu to *Russian bravado and her infantine marine at Cronstadt and Sebastopol.*

But England and France are alone to blame for the ascendancy of Russia in the affairs of Europe; they ought, by a timely and decisive interference, to have prevented the re-subjugation of Poland,* which free and independent, would have formed an impenetrable barrier against the future inroad of the barbarians. In pursuance of the same system, Turkey was neglected, in vain she extended her arms towards them in the last stages of her malady for assistance, they turned from her with cold indifference, afraid, I presume, of invoking the resentment of the renowned champion for divine rights and despotic governments. The consequence has

* Napoléon a dit: S'il (l'empereur de Russia) réussit à amalgamer franchement la Pologne et la Russie, tout devra fléchir "sous son joug." (Montholon, t. 2, p. 241.)

been, that the boundaries of Turkey have been curtailed and abridged, until they have nearly disappeared from the map of Europe, forsaken by those who were bound by the ties of ancient amity to befriend her; she has irrevocably thrown herself under the protection of her wily and powerful neighbour.

England has tamely submitted to behold Muscovite ambition assume the command of the Dardanelles—the Euxine Sea converted into a Russian lake—Persia dragged captive at her chariot wheels—treaties of commerce formed with our old faithful allies, inimical to our interests as a manufacturing nation.

RUSSIA AND HER RESOURCES.

I shall now endeavour to point out, by a statistical review of Russia, the causes which ought to excite in the rest of Europe, especially England, both caution and jealousy; she possesses immense resources, primitive forests, maiden lands, capable of being made to maintain a population of at least one hundred and fifty millions of subjects; she has, in herself, every variety of climate, as her territory extends nearly from the poles to the tropics; she has commodious and safe harbours, and if she once acquires possession of Constantinople, she will be capable of monopolizing the commerce of the world; her mines are rich in every variety of minerals and metals; her soil is fertile and irrigated by numerous rivers, the largest and most extensive of these is the Wolga, it is about 800 leagues in length, traverses nearly the whole empire, and empties itself into the Caspian sea.

This river alone maintains in constant employment more than twelve hundred thousand people, either as fishermen, or employed in working the boats; it furnishes immense quan-

tities of sturgeon, of a superior quality, whose spawn is sold to all Europe, and the greatest part of Asia, under the name of *caviar*.

The Southern seas and rivers of the Empire are a source of immense profit, similar to that derived by England and Holland from their cod fisheries, they are all abundantly stocked with fish, particularly the Wolga, of which they export great quantities, both salted and smoked, independently of the prodigious consumption by the Russians themselves, during the numerous fasts enjoined by the Greek church; the other principal rivers are the Don, Dnieper, and the Dniester, which intersect the empire in different directions, and like the Wolga, receive numerous tributary streams before they arrive at the Black Sea; finally, the Danube seems to have united all her waters as if in order to pay homage to her new sovereign.

It must therefore be evident, that few countries in Europe are so highly favored by nature, or are so extensively and abundantly irrigated, as many of her rivers are united by artificial canals, which, in consequence of the country presenting generally a level surface, are constructed at a very trifling expense, and afford an admirable facility for distributing her manufactures and the produce of her soil to the remotest corners of her immense empire; and this not

alone during the summer season, but, owing to the facility afforded by sledge communication over her frozen streams, her merchandise is transported with the greatest rapidity during the whole winter, at a very inconsiderable cost.

In consequence of the extent of her territory, she unites the productions of Europe with those of the tropics, and, by a singular coincidence, the course of her rivers are generally directed towards the East, which has the effect, as it were, of giving a natural impulse to the people to follow their progress, and all her canals, which have been completed or are constructing, have the effect of encouraging this impulse of the nation towards Asiatic dominion. This however does not prevent considerable exports at the Northern ports of Riga, St. Petersburg, and Archangel.

Nearly in every part of the empire are to be found immense forests, composed of such timber as is best adapted for building of ships ; they are to be found in the greatest abundance on the banks of the Don, the Wolga, and the Dnieper, as if to invite exportation ; the masts, like those of Sweden, are the best existing, and she alone is capable of supplying all Europe for centuries with this article.

Except four or five provinces in the North, all the others produce abundance of corn, of every

species; those in the centre and the South, with the kingdom of Poland, are the granaries of the empire; and after providing largely for the subsistence of the inhabitants in bread and *polenta*, and also for the distillery of ardent spirits, which are consumed in prodigious quantities, both by noble and peasant, the overplus is exported through her Northern ports to Holland, Sweden, England and France, and by those in the South to Turkey, Greece, Italy, and not unfrequently even to Spain.

The fertility of her soil does not alone constitute the riches of her Empire. There are only four or five governments, such as St. Petersburg, Olonetz, Wibourg, which do not abound with horned cattle and sheep; many of the provinces, such as the Ukraine, Smolensk, Moscow, Pleskof, Little Russia, and Voroneje, have superior pasturage and almost innumerable herds of cattle.

The sheep of Astrakan are celebrated for their size; and those of the Crimea, for their superior quality, whilst the Oxen of Ukraine, Kiow, and Archangel, are of a remarkably fine species.

Hordes of wandering tribes, whose riches consist in their flocks, of which they rear great numbers in the steppes, are obliged to consume them themselves for the want of a market.

All the provinces which abound in grain, are also famous for the number and superior quality

of their pigs, immense quantity of which are annually salted and exported, together with their lard.

Another article that produces a large revenue, is their tallow, of which, notwithstanding the vast quantities consumed in lighting them through the long winter nights, there still remains a considerable overplus for exportation, both in the raw state and manufactured into candles; they are supplied principally from *Kasan*, *Kalumna*, and particularly from Orenburg.

Woollen cloths, form but a very inconsiderable article of commerce, but they manufacture sufficient, of a coarse description, for the use of the peasants and the military.

It is the Russians who fabricate that species of leather, to which they have given their name, and which no other nation as yet, has been able to equal; the exports of this are annually very considerable.

It is the hemp of Russia, which furnishes sails and cordage to nearly the whole marine of the North of Europe.

Many of the provinces abound in iron mines, viz. Nowgorod, Polotsk, Kalouga, Orel, and Orembourg, they are abundant, and after furnishing sufficient for the home supply, they export annually to a very large amount; the iron is equal in quality to that of Sweeden.

Copper is found at Orenbourg, Olonetz, and Ouffa ; those of Olonetz also produce gold and lead ; Perm and Siberia are still richer, as we there find gold, silver, platina, and zinc ; these mines are as yet in their infancy and for the greatest part unexplored. The silver mines of Kolivan and Nertschinsk, in Siberia, are particularly distinguished for their riches and abundance.

The race of horses is nearly the same as it was in ancient Scythia ; they are numerous, light, patient of fatigue, bear long privations, and are supported at a trifling expense. Their external appearance is any thing but beautiful, they are, notwithstanding, the best existing for light cavalry, and are particularly serviceable in those wars, which are carried on at a distance, and of protracted duration ; every effort has been tried of late years to improve the breed, but hitherto without success. *Haras* have been established by the Government, in various parts of the empire, especially in the environs of Mezen, Karkof, Izium, Eskopine, and Orel.

The damask linen of Jarosalav is equal in beauty to the finest produced in Silesia, and the fine linen of Ekaterinoslav and Moscow, is not surpassed by that of the Pays-Bas. The flax seed is of an excellent quality, and they annually export vast quantities, together with the

surplus of their linen, which is of a superior description.

The Southern provinces, particularly the Ukrain and Little Russia, furnish sufficient tobacco for the use of the empire, and sometimes their exportations are important to Holland, and also to Moldavia and Walachia.

The amount of their fur trade is not exactly ascertained, but it must be immense, as the finest furs in the world are found in Siberia; the principal sales are held at Orenbourg and Archangel, but owing to the intense coldness of the climate, the Russians themselves, consume a great proportion; nevertheless, their exports are productive of very considerable profit to the Empire.

In the provinces of Nowgorod, Vologda, Belgorod, and Astrakan, is found abundance of salt, sufficient for the consumption of the whole empire; Perm and Orenbourg possess mountains of beautiful crystalized salt.

Game of every species abounds throughout the whole Empire; the Southern provinces produce some of the finest fruit in Europe, the vine is cultivated with great advantage, and a considerable quantity of silk is produced and exported. Honey and wax, cotton and saffron, are the products of the government of the Caucasus and Astrakan; finally, every species

of marble, alabaster, fine and precious stones, together with lime and chalk, abound in such quantities, that few countries are so amply provided by the hand of nature with these articles.

The merchandise of her central provinces arrives at Akerman, by the river Dniester; at Nikolaiw, by the river Bug; at Cherson, by the Dnieper; at Taganrog, by the Don and the Wolga, as the two rivers are united by the canal of Kamichine, from whence it can be transported in four or five days to Sebastopol and Constantinople in steam boats. Steam navigation also affords her the means of communicating with her central provinces and the Baltick, together with her mines in the Oural mountains and likewise with the Frozen Sea. The rich mines of coal in the neighbourhood of Taganrog, encourages the navigation by steam on the Wolga and the Don, the Black Sea and the Asoph particularly, on account of the waters being shallow.

It is evident that the two ports of Cherson and Taganrog will, at no distant period, assume a high station, both in wealth and importance, especially the latter, whose environs produce the finest and best grain in Europe, and which is brought to her by the Don and the Wolga and their numerous tributary streams; immense rafts of wood are floated down the river to Cher-

son, Taganrog, and Ovidipol, at hardly any expense; they are then used in constructing dwelling houses, entrepots for commerce, &c. The port of Odessa is not so favourably situated as that of Taganrog; and, notwithstanding her site, at the end of the last century was an unhealthy *marais*, her population is now more than 40,000. She owes her prosperity chiefly to her commerce in grain.

The plains, which extend to the North and the West, produce abundance; besides which, there arrive large quantities from Podolia and the Ukraine, upon cars drawn by oxen, in convoys of from 3 to 4000 heads. Their food costs nothing, as they graze on the *steppes* and the sides of the roads. The conductors encamp under tents, and are maintained at a very trifling expense, as they travel through a country which abounds in every thing but money; consequently land and its produce is but of little value, and after deducting the charges for freight, &c. it can be sold in the English ports for upwards of 60 per cent cheaper than it could be produced at home. What a source of wealth might not here alone be opened to England, if the corn laws were repealed; it would employ our ships and mariners, and the Russians in return would take our manufactures. No time should therefore be

lost, as her navy will soon be augmented in numbers, and increased in strength. She will then be able to transport the productions of her soil at half the expense that England could afford, owing to the price of provisions, frugality of her mariners, and the trifling outlay of capital in constructing vessels, as her own territories furnish at a *vil prix* the raw materials.

There are immense flocks of Merino sheep, particularly in the neighbourhood of Odessa; consequently the fabrication of fine cloths are multiplying, and in a very few years we shall find them in the market, rivalling those of England and France.

The fertile banks of the Wolga and the Don furnish salt and smoked beef to the whole of the Mediterranean, and its waters fish to the Grecians, and the Catholics of Southern Europe.

It is remarkable, that if a mast was cut down, from 50 to 60 feet long, in the Oural Mountains, on the borders of Siberia, and then embarked on Tchoutchovaia River, and thence to the Kama, Volga, Don, and Sebastopol, to England, it would cost less than we could grow them at home, even if that were possible, owing to the price of labour, provisions, carriage, &c.

The same remark may be applied to her other exports, such as butter, oils, tallow, furs, fish, grain, iron, and mines of every description, with

which that country abounds; these are the principal objects of exportation with which Russia proposes to inundate Europe.

The ports of Constantinople and Sebastopol are universally acknowledged to be the best adapted for commerce of any in the world. We are now aware at what a trifling expense Russia can create a fleet, as she herself possesses all the raw materials—wood, cordage, sails, masts, iron, copper, zinc, &c. In fact, they can construct vessels at one-fifth less expense than we can in any part of Great Britain!

The founderies of Tambov, Petrowsky, Toula and Constantinople, furnish cannon and other implements of war. Astrakan and the Ukrain abound in saltpetre.

With the force, if I may so say, of a new country, and a new people emerging from barbarism, and not deficient in *talent, energy, and enterprise*, with such immense resources at their command, what country or power can compete with them? Certainly not those, more or less exhausted by ruinous wars. The contest will neither be long nor doubtful, and the rising generation may calculate, on an invasion of a different description, from any to which they have been hitherto accustomed, unless she receives an early and decided check, that will wither in the bud all her ambitious projects!

Ministers of England, to whom the guidance of the country is confided, sleep not, nor be deluded, by the hypocritical protestations of the designing Autocrat, nor think what I advance is exaggerated. If Russia once becomes master of the Dardanelles, the young adventurers of both France and England will no longer wander to a distant clime. The Black Sea and the Bosphorus are open as theatres for their enterprise; and her merchantmen, no longer confined by frozen seas and rivers, will monopolize the trade of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus; and should she be deficient in mariners, her protectorate of Greece will afford her a sufficient supply of intrepid sailors, bound as they are to her by ties of religion and gratitude.

It is every day demonstrated that the balance of power invariably inclines towards that nation, whose commerce is flourishing and extensive; and, as wealth always attends the car of the conqueror, her treasury has been already amply supplied by the results of the late wars with Persia and Turkey!

Perhaps the day is not far distant when an army of 50,000 Muscovites, and several hundred officers incorporated among the armies of the rebellious Princes of India, would be more than sufficient to overthrow the British power in the East!

That which Paul the First contemplated in concert with Napoleon, Paul the Second or any other Cæsar may execute; and I fear that the time has passed away, when the mission of a Lord Whitworth was sufficient to crush such a project in its infancy.

Peter the Great, in his *Testament Politique*, pointed out the path to be pursued, by his successors, for arriving at the goal of his wishes, possession of Constantinople and the Persian Gulph, for the purpose of re-establishing the ancient commerce of India through Asia Minor. Should this event occur, it would be the means of exalting that empire to a height of prosperity and splendid grandeur unparalleled in history!

It is well known that the ancient commerce between Europe and the East Indies was by the Persian Gulph, the caravans reposing at Tyre and other ports of the Mediterranean. Alexander the Great changed that route to the Red Sea by Suez and Alexandria. The subsequent conquest of Egypt by the Arabian hordes, together with the occupation of the Black Sea by the Turks, destroyed that line of communication. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, which ruined Venice and many of the ports in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

There can be no doubt, that if Egypt was

wisely governed, and the canal from Suez to the Nile re-opened, that Asiatic commerce would return to the channel that was destined for it by the *immortal son of Philip*. Now Russia being in possession of the Bosphorus and of part of Asia Minor, is capable of exercising immense influence over Egypt, and the whole of the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of those countries which border on it, whose interests in that respect are identified with Russia, would hail any *Sovereign as immortal*, who could carry such a project into execution, and restore to them their ancient grandeur and importance. *In this alone England would be the sufferer!*

In fact, Tyre, Alexandria, Carthage, Palmyra, and Venice, with many others, after having engrossed in succession the commerce of the world, and enjoyed the power which great wealth bestows, have left to posterity scarce a vestige of their former greatness, because they were nothing else than vast bazaars for the reception of merchandise. They were also destitute of those immense resources which a large extent of territory affords, and of the advantages which accrue from an advantageous geographical position, consequently, when the course of events directed commerce into another channel, they fell!

England, who has eclipsed all her predeces-

sors, whose commerce, like a chain of gold, envelops the whole globe; whose docks receive the productions of one hemisphere to export them to another! England, whose spirit of enterprise is so powerfully aided by free institutions, and whose machinery creates as it were a population of manufacturers, whose millions of subjects in India pour their wealth into her lap, should remember that she has a *rival*, who may one day succeed her, and every advance of that rival in the acquisition of *territory*, or in commercial advantages, are pregnant with danger to her future *welfare* and *security*!

But who can tell the destiny that awaits an empire advancing from barbarism to civilisation, with all the youth and vigour of a young country in possession of a territory of vast extent, teeming in its primitive fertility, and capable of nourishing an immense population, the greatest part of which claim one common origin, Sclavonian. They are laborious, active, passionate lovers of glory, patient, inured to fatigue and privations, devoted to their commanders, endowed with an extraordinary facility of speaking the European languages, Fanaticks and Fatalists, regarding war and the commands of their Sovereign as sacred; *Dieu le veut*, that the army marches forward to glory, is repeated with solemnity from the Baltic to the Black Sea! They are a people rapidly

rising to opulence and power, capable of receiving and appreciating good laws and sage institutions; defended from foreign aggression by an army, numerous as that of Xerxes, proud of their fame, and accustomed to victory; and by frontiers for the most part invulnerable by nature, notwithstanding they are of vast extent, bounded on one side by the Deserts and the North Pole, and on the other by the Caucasus, the passes of which once closed are impregnable. Flanked by seas that belong to her. In the South by the Greek nation, which is Russian by faith and interest, in short, her infant sea ports are alone open to the attack of a great maritime power.

England and France must be well aware of the immense consequence it is to their future prosperity, that the Bosphorus and Constantinople should remain in the possession of the Turks, a people who have been for centuries the greatest consumers of the products of their industry, checked as they are by their religious principles and habits, in their progress towards civilisation and industry.

It has been long the prevailing opinion, that the new conquests and accession of territory would be the means of weakening and creating dissension in the Russian empire, but hitherto she has consolidated, as she advanced, with a *judgment* and *decision* unequalled by any other power in Europe!

The conquest of the city of Constantine, which has been, from the time of Peter the Great, the object of the fondest wishes of the whole Russian nation, is now in a manner accomplished, and she only awaits a favorable moment to secure to herself the benefits which will result from her acquisition; when this takes place it is difficult, perhaps impossible, *to calculate its influence on the destinies of the world!*

She proceeded in the accomplishment of her object by slow but certain steps; she commenced by revolutionising Greece, and, through the diplomatic talents of her Ministers, won over France and England to aid her in her plans; the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino quickly followed, and thereby opened the seas of the Levant to the Russian navy; with her usual adroitness she concluded a peace with Persia, which secured to her millions of roubles, and an accession of territory.

She then proceeded to create dissensions in France and the south of Europe, caressed the King of Holland, *cajoled England*, secured Prussia as an ally, by making promises which have not yet been realized, and left Austria to defend her extensive frontiers, and maintain internal tranquility, well knowing that these would afford her sufficient occupation.

With the same adroitness she prevailed upon the Sublime Porte to publish an irritating mani-

festos, and in pursuance of the same line of policy persuaded her credulous dupe to fire on the *English Parlementaire at Navarino*, finally, after six years military preparation, she consummated her Machiavilian policy and marched upon Constantinople! Her success was certain, as she had already secured a powerful party in the Divan; the battle of Navarino had destroyed the Turkish fleet, and the army was insignificant and deficient in discipline.

Thus she accomplished her establishment upon the shores of the Bosphorus, which is one of the most remarkable events that has occurred in the world, since the days of Charlemagne. In the same manner she prepared for the *partition of Poland* and the *conquest of the Crimea!*

Although this was an event fraught with the most important consequences, yet it has been viewed by the governments of Europe, apparently, with indifference, the ministerial journals have treated it lightly, and affected to undervalue its results, that they might conceal the culpable carelessness and inattention, which have supinely acquiesced in the encroachments of Muscovite ambition; the liberal prints contented themselves with the hope and expectations that she would enfeeble herself by conquest, and that owing to her vast extent of territory, she must of necessity, be ultimately divided, or

perhaps, fall a victim to the plague. The *juste milieu* told us, that we should have for the future the advantage of transacting our commercial pursuits with a nation superior in civilisation to the prejudiced fanatical followers of Mahomet.

Still, England, whose genius develops itself with the greatest splendour in the hour of peril, may yet arrest the danger that menaces herself and Europe; *negociations are futile* with a nation whose sole dream is *conquest and dominion!*

England alone can check her career and drive the ambitious children of the Frozen Ocean back to their eternal snows; thereby falsifying those prophets who have predicted, that the sons of the Northern Scythian would succeed her in commerce and fame.

England, to thee is confided the destinies of Europe, thou canst conciliate or coerce! France of 1834—liberal France, tenders thee her hand; forget thy former rivalry—thy interests are identified. Tell Austria that more than half her population are Slavonians, by origin, language, manners and customs, and in their affections more Russian than German; open to the inroads of the Barbarians in the East, and to liberalism in the West; tell her that by uniting with you, she will secure the integrity of her frontiers.

Tell Prussia that by amalgamating her interests with Russia, and by her infamous conduct towards heroic Poland, she has for ever alienated the affections of every true German heart, and obscured, by violated promises, the immortal memory of the great Frederick!

Re-establish the throne of Poland—the ancient conquerors of Moscow and Kiow; give to them a form of government which will secure rational liberty, and their frontiers will be the *avant garde* of civilized Europe, as in the days of Sobieski they formed a barrier against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites. Array your squadrons, united with those of France, enter boldly the Black Sea, and tell the ambitious Scythian, that unless he retires within the limits prescribed to him by nature, that the very tops of his snowy mountains shall be illuminated by the destruction of his fleet, and of his infantine establishments in the Crimea. Replace the port and fortress of Derbend under the Monarch of Persia—renew your ancient alliance with Turkey, and, in concert with Sweden and Denmark, shut up the two Sounds of the Baltick and the Black Sea.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

I shall now add a few remarks upon the domestic policy pursued by the Government, and endeavour to suggest a few admonitory hints to my readers.

The present Ministers commenced their career, as if they consecrated themselves to the welfare of the country; the nation reposed the most implicit confidence in their measures—they were supported by all the liberal talent of the Empire. The patriot Earl Grey, the honest Althorp, names synonymous with every thing noble, liberal and free, pledged themselves to follow the voice and impulse of the nation. A violation of that engagement would be atrocious. They ought, therefore, to be aware of the danger of irritating a sensitive intelligent people, who become embittered if they find their interests neglected. As their power originated in the popular voice, the country has a right to demand an immediate, or at least a gradual, extinction of all abuses which, though numerous, are not irremediable. There should be a total abolition of all superfluous public offices and sinecures;

the possession of the latter is degrading to every man who retains it, but *criminal*, if he spends that income in a *foreign country* !

Every means should be resorted to for the purpose of diminishing the *national debt*, consistent with the honour and integrity of the Empire.

The whole of the domains, appertaining to the crown, should be publicly sold, and the proceeds applied to the same purpose. In Gloucestershire alone, in the forest of Dean,* the government are in possession of more than 30,000 acres of the choicest land in the kingdom ; part of it beautifully situated on the banks of the Severn, and admirably adapted for an important commercial station. In the event of their sale, the country would enjoy the manifold advantages of a reduction of taxes, a greater circulation of capital, and employment of the industrious. Discontent would be allayed, the resources of the Empire strengthened, and the Government relieved of an unprofitable vexatious tenure.

Ministerial patronage should be liberally extended to every class of British subjects, whose merit and talent deserve it.

* This Domain, together with many others, instead of being a source of revenue to the State, entails an unnecessary burden upon the community, by supporting a whole mass of Public Officers and Sinecure Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Independently of this, the Forest of Dean is the subject of endless disputes between the Government and the Free Miners. Vide Lord Lowther's Speech in the House of Lords.

All superfluous Ambassadors, Chargé d'Affaires and Consuls should be recalled; for instance, those who have been appointed to petty Sovereigns, who are nothing more than *stadt-holders*; such, for example, as the King of Wurtemberg, whose whole population does not exceed that of the city of London! In short, excepting Austria and Prussia, one alone would be sufficient for the whole of Germany—that Empire being under the control and dominion of the *Bundes Tag*,* which assembles at Frankfurt on the Maine. The same observation may be applied to Italy.

The salaries of all public officers and Ambassadors should be reduced to a level with those of the other first-rate European governments. Why John Bull should pay more to his servants, than his neighbour *Monsieur le Coq de Galle*, is difficult to explain?

Those who hold any situation of trust and emolument should be discharged, if their political opinions are inimical to the interests of the Empire.

No diplomatist should be accredited to a foreign court, unless he is well acquainted with the language, manners, customs and laws of the country, to which he is appointed; in this we are lamentably defective, as interest, almost

* An Assembly consisting of Deputies from all the confederated Princes of Germany.

invariably, predominates over talent and qualification.

Our numerous colonies, instead of being an expense, should be made the sources of immense wealth and profit to the mother country. Every encouragement should be afforded to the emigration of British subjects. A fund should be expressly appropriated to the purpose of conveying to those Settlements our superabundant population; these being employed in agriculture and commerce, would ultimately rise to wealth and importance; and, being of the same common origin with the mother country, would be the means of disseminating our language, manners and customs to all parts of the globe, and of transmitting to posterity the renown and glory of England!

We have an example of this in the United States of America, which, although they have revolted, and have become totally separate and independent, yet, owing to their affinity in so many points with this country, our commercial relations with them are, and probably ever will be, both extensive and profitable.

If the millions which have been recently expended in emancipating the slaves of the West Indies had been applied in encouraging and assisting colonial emigration, the poor rates and pauperism would, in process of time, be nearly eradicated from our land.

That the present Ministry have had many difficulties to encounter, during the time they have been in office, there can be no doubt; the incessant and determined hostility of the Conservatives, combined with the increasing, perhaps extravagant, demands for reform and innovations of a people, who had been gradually sinking into an abyss of misery through the long reign of mis-rule by their predecessors.

They commenced their career as the champions of constitutional liberty, and, if they had pursued it without deviation, their names would have been immortalized, upheld as they were by popular opinion; but, I regret to say, that their want of decision and vacillating measures have been succeeded by distrust and an anxious apprehension for the future.

A legislature so composed, who passed measures of the most appalling importance, with hardly any debate, and who, instead of reducing the national debt, in a period of profound peace, have imposed an addition, *in one year*, of 32,000,000*l.* with a Russia-Dutch loan of 5,000,000*l.* though the condition had arrived, which would have authorised any other government to set it aside for ever.

They repealed taxes, which had no effect in alleviating the distresses of a suffering people; whilst the house and window tax, the most unjust and tyrannical of any, still remains.

Another most injurious to the country is that on malt, as it prevents the consumption of this valuable product of our own soil. Malt liquor has been the favourite beverage of Britons from the earliest ages, and, when taken in moderation, is nourishing and wholesome; it is therefore to be lamented that the fiscal exactions of the legislature should ever have interfered with its consumption, as by so doing the morals of the people have become corrupted. If repealed, it might, perhaps, have the effect of weaning them from the deleterious use of ardent spirits.

The consequence has been, that gin shops, or, to use the popular phrase, gin palaces have multiplied ten-fold in every city, town and village throughout the empire; their magnificence and splendour greeting the eye at every step, filled with the most squalid and abandoned wretches that can disgrace human nature, emaciated by disease, and bloated by intemperance. It is almost unnecessary to add, that under the influence of this debasing excitement, there have been more revolting crimes committed, and it has contributed more to demoralize the lower orders than any other cause whatever. It will, I fear, be almost impossible to wean those who are attached to its pernicious indulgence, except by an almost prohibitory duty.

The opinion, that *all* taxes are a public grievance, I do not subscribe to; Ministers

must be furnished with the means of upholding the credit of the country, for, should the state become a bankrupt, the sun of England's glory is for ever set!

A continental nation, such for instance as France, enjoying a vast extent of territory and great natural resources, may recover the shock, but Great Britain being commercial, her credit once destroyed, she must, owing to the limited nature of her European resources, and a want of consolidation in the different parts of her Empire, degenerate into a second, perhaps a third-rate power; and those ports and rivers which are now crowded with innumerable ships, loaded with the products of every nation, would become harbours for fishing smacks and colliers! and we may be assured, that the loss of public credit would be speedily followed by the desertion of capital and commerce for ever from our shores, while some other more fortunate part of the globe would become the emporium of wealth and prosperity.

Finally, I earnestly recommend the government and the people, to turn their attention to those resources which our colonies afford. To independent powers we cannot dictate the terms of commercial treaties, but our own Settlements we can to a certain degree command. We have possessions in every clime, abounding in all the varied productions of nature, from whence

we can import all the raw materials necessary for our manufactures, and then export them to the colonies in a manufactured form ; by this plan we should establish a system of barter highly beneficial to the interests of the Empire.

But in order to make colonies productive, they must be peopled by an intelligent, enterprising, industrious population, for this purpose every facility and pecuniary assistance should be afforded by the government. And the people themselves ought to form societies and raise funds for liquidating the expense of the voyage, out-fit, &c. We hear, on all sides, complaints for want of employment ; in many instances it is to be feared they originate in idleness, but no doubt, in many others they are well founded ; the most certain remedy for this evil is emigration.

When a population is so far increased as to exceed the means of supplying it with food, it must either purchase additional food, or be transported to other countries to procure it. Should the first alternative be adopted, it will always be difficult to make advantageous treaties of commerce, as every European nation is now in a greater or less degree manufacturing, it follows therefore that we shall have to contend with jarring interests.

But our colonies being for the most part young countries, which want every thing but

food and raw materials, it would therefore be more advantageous to the national interest to make arrangements with them than with foreigners.

The transmarine possessions of England are a mine as yet only partially explored, inexhaustable in its treasures, requiring only population, with a moderate outlay of capital to become of immense importance and wealth to the *mother country*. Now, as it is evident that population is absolutely necessary, and as Great Britain cannot furnish a sufficient supply, without endangering the safety of her Empire at home, would it not be adviseable to encourage emigration from among the other nations of Europe.

The Germans for instance, owing to their industry and frugality, patience and perseverance, are the best colonists existing, and the multitudes of that high spirited people, the Poles, who are now wandering as *exiles, without a home!* (persecuted by Despots, and by the citizen King of France), might, at a very inconsiderable expense, be sent to some of our colonies, and if their national vanity was flattered, by allowing that settlement to be denominated *New Poland*, the donation would be received with gratitude, defended by bravery, and remain for ever a glorious monument of the splendid munificence of England !

FINIS.



